

Part of the Parent
The Parent versus the State

21/1/1911 51.

I am much honoured by being asked to address the
members of an Association whose mandate I take
to be, organise, educate, differentiate, ^{on a} ~~where~~
working idea is, in ^{myself} F.D. Macrin's phrase,
'the family is the unit of the nation'. The older
one gets, the more one sees how beautiful &
excellent is the natural, ^{most} some of us think
the divine, organisation of the family; & it
would seem that nations prosper or fall
into decay according to how they hold the
family bond. We know very well how states
decay when licentious living ^{among} on the part of
the governing classes ^{depreciates} makes light of family
life; but the point that claims our attention
just now is that when a state arrogates to
itself the functions of parents, from utilitarian

1872 all over the world

From philanthropic motives, it is
transgressing the just law by which nations
live. The life of the State is bound up ~~in~~
~~that of the individuals~~ but in that of the families
^{compose}
of which it is composed.

The most obvious functions of parents are to
feed, clothe, shelter & educate their children.
Birds & beasts bring up their families, & the
nesting season offers a continually
repeated & delightful parable to men.

The ^{family} ~~common~~ table, be it never so poor, is the
center of amenities & pleasures not to be had
elsewhere. The herring, or the morsel of
bacon, shared by way of a 'relish' rather
than eaten as food, offers something over
above the chemical elements proper to them.
The mother gives away more of her share,

to the bread or potatoes of the meal

Little Bill's baby goodness is laughed at, raising
~~the~~ small jokes go round & manners & moral
 of a kind are observed. The best cooked &
 served dinner that can be given to children
 at their school is a poor, dry, cold, meal
 by comparison. So of clothes; we others
 may not approve of the 'fervor' that ^{Elizabeth's} mother
 has somehow come by for her ~~little girl's~~ hat
 but that 'fervor' means dignity, self-respect,
 mother's love, twenty precious things warm &
 comforting that the neatest school uniform
 cannot afford.

If we want to marvel at it, let us turn
 over the pages of Punch for a year. Phil May,
 at any rate, knew that the children of the very poor
 are persons full of friendship, love, faith, &
 joy in the beautiful tenderness for the weak.
 Can the State give scope for all this?

21/5/1905

The state has no big back for the little
mother-girl to struggle ^{under} / not little 'lover'
for the scarcely bigger boy ^{bleeding the hand} a person of
clarity though in ~~the~~ rags. Perhaps we grow
more by what we endure than by what we
get, & the small urchin who sells
newspapers in the rain brings home more than
the pennies he earns.

But this, it will be said, is to assume
that the very poor are also very good. No, but
perhaps they are like the rest of us, good &
sin; their good ^{is the better} becomes very good because
they are poor. I venture to say that few of us know
more than a very small percentage of ^{people} ~~quite~~ wretched
people among the very poor of our acquaintance, &
of ~~it~~ ^{of} ~~dozens of~~ ^{dozens of} ~~poor~~ ^{poor} people.
I suppose that because the poor are congested in

our great cities, they are therefore unworthy to
bring up their families, seasons of arrogance.
Better a dinner of herbs when low is than
a stalled ox at the table of the State.

We are all democrats in these days. We
are all willing to lay down our lives, in some
measure, for that friend of ours, the poor man
but we do it from ~~the~~ heights we are the persons
who know!

But, it will be asked, how does all this
apply to the giving or selling of one or two good
meats a day to the children. ^{they} The children get the
meats, but they miss what I boldly call the
amenities of the home-hub. A little extravagance
is set up, the children are definitely taught to
be self-seeking ^{regard} freely, to put home in the second
place & their own comfort in the first.

In a week or two it will be found that the family bond will be relaxed, there will be no longer the same confidence between parent & child which is one of the compensations of the poor & very soon the children will trade the tiresome little duties which they owe to the parents who feed them and scarcely to those who make over the care of them

P. to the state. But a deeper question lies at the root of this, of the family life & state aid. Whatever be our party or our creed, we stand on one side or the other of a broad line of demarcation. We say with our lips & believe in our hearts that man either does, or that he does not, live by bread alone. If we think that he does not live by bread alone, that his morale is more than his physique, we shall be very wary as to how we take him from the educative conditions of family life.

If bread be scarce & butter scarcer, there are still
 friendliness & affection, helpfulness & service, the
 wise philosophy of the poor. Still 'life is sweet, brother',
 still 'there's nought so dear, brother, both sweet things',
 sun ^{moon} ~~moon~~ & stars, brother, all & sweet things". "There's
 likewise a wind on the heath, life is very sweet, brother."
 That is, where there is liberty, whether child or old
 man, is provided for more or less by the State, the
 consciousness of ~~total~~ liberty is gone. We ~~should~~ have
 no longer that fine sense of dignity, property & possession
 in each other which characterise the very poor & the
 very rich - for both are independent.
 If we leave things like these out of count, if we
 maintain that man doth live by bread alone, why
 then the state will arrogate ~~to~~ itself the duty
 of bringing up a fitter generation & will fail
 miserably. It will feed the children & give them
 bread only. ~~It~~ It will educate them with that
 utilitarian education which some of us believe to

be profoundly immoral. It will gin them, by way
of religion, ~~and~~ dry bones of ethical education ^{which} ~~as such~~
^{meant to} make them serviceable to itself, will deprand them of
all that should gin impulse & enthusiasm to life.
I take it that an underlying tenet of the Association is
that man doth not live by bread alone ~~in proportion~~
as it ~~realizes~~ the full bearing of this article of belief,
^{that, however, it} will be its effectiveness in preserving the family &
building up the nation.

But it will be said this is a one-sided view,
the difficulty comes in when men & women cannot,
or will not, take care of their children or of their aged
~~persons~~ ^{parents} parents. But the vast majority of persons & children
are persons of good will & honest purpose. That they
are ready to sustain their children is proved by the
fact that the inquiries instituted a few months
ago by the K.C.C. issued in a return the verdict of
Dr. Kew that the children ^{of the poor districts} of London were not ~~under~~
underfed, but unweaned fed under bad conditions.

The cry of lack of bread reaches all our hearts - it is idle to suggest that to feed the hungry is not the first duty of state & individuals but in our eager pity it is well to remember that no worse calamity can befall a state than a low expense of parental duty & also, that there are things more satisfying than bread. Visiting a Jewish Club for Jewish girls some time ago, I was greatly struck by the gentle & courteous manners of the girls & the lady who directs the club, "but these must be all well-to-do girls & you do not reach the very poor". "Most of the girls," she answered "are very very poor; many of them will put down to their first meal today when we have tea. I expected to be able to distinguish the hungry girls by greediness, but all of them behaved with equal propriety. None of them snatched or stuff stuffed, or behaved otherwise than do all well-brought up people at table. These girls found the social idea most sustaining than bread & I think there is danger in the idea that persons must be well fed before we can expect them to be well-

If this be so the remedy lies in the education of parents rather than in the intervention of the state. The children who can properly be regarded as children of the state ^{is} ~~are~~ those whose parents are criminals by profession, idiotic insane or who are under the periodic insanity of habitual drunkenness. These children are properly under the care of the state which should do what it can to engrave into its harder methods something of the culture & nurture that the children of the very poor derive from family life. Probably one function of the Constitutional Association will be the delimitation of the powers of the state to supersede parents in the care of their children.

The life story of Will Crooks M.P. is what we call a 'human document' of no common value, but perhaps the lessons to be had between the lines are more precious than those ^{Mr Crooks himself} ~~the~~ ^{subject of the biography} ~~subject of the biography~~ emphasises. Next is a picture of a mother of the poor, so poor that she & her husband & children could

behind or interested in anything but their own immediate needs. We know how a national pig, or a national grief, can fill all hearts to the entire forgetfulness of personal needs. I venture to press this point because, though it is our first duty to feed the hungry, we may not postpone the duty of nourishing the mind with ideas until the body is well-fed. The two works are of equal importance & should proceed together.

not keep out of the workhouse, though they soon can get out of it as soon as they could."

"God only knows, God only will know, how my mother worked & wept," says Crooks. "With it all she brought up seven of us to be decent & useful men & women. She was everything to us. I owe to her what little schooling I got, for, though she could neither read nor write herself, she would often remark that that should never be said of any of her children.... I can picture her now as I used to see her when I worked in the night making out oil-skin coats by candle-light in our single room. For many a night I was I meant it from the very bottom of my heart when I used to whisper to myself, as I peeped at her from the little box-bedstead by the wall, 'wait till I'm a man! ^{won't} I work for my mother when I'm a man!'"

Of course we all wish that 'Will Crooks' had been better fed, that changes had been rung upon the bread & butter of all his meals.

Christine

But would it have been well, for him to have been
 fed more or less at the public expense? To have been
 without the heroic impulse he got ^{from} watching his
 mother's patient toil? - an impulse which in after
 days was to do such fine service to the country.

The severe hardships of his youth, scarcely seemed to
 have affected him physically, but should we have had
 the merry jibe, the ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~independent~~ ^{independent} carriage which
 we admire in the Labour Members, had it not been that
 through all their struggles, the crippled father, the
 toiling mother & the seven children preserved a sense of

family dignity & unity.

an association ~~came~~ ^{came} with a sense of the inevitability
 of the family ~~must~~ ^{must} ~~organise~~ ^{organise} in order to propagate its
 doctrine. The means are obvious. Should not
 every village & every urban district have its Constitutional
 Club, so framed as to draw members from all classes &
 to include none? The Socialists have shown the way to
 Club rooms, the schools should be obtained for the purpose,

Opp.
 page

The photograph of the Crookley family
 contained in the Life would not be a
 bad thing to have. It is a lesson
 in self-respect & self-help.

when ~~not~~ neither school nor bar is available,
 an iron room might be put up for £100 or so - a
 sum which an attractive programme would secure in
 most neighbourhoods. Having got the people, the business
 of the Association would probably be to educate them.
 Hence, I come to the reason why I have been honoured by
 an invitation to speak ~~to you~~ today.

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The common notion of education is, ^{able to show in the end} that it is a long &
 weariful process with ~~often enough~~ little apparent
 result. The educated person should have increased ^{range} in
 living, many varied interests, occupations, hobbies. We
 do not always find that he has these. ^{characteristic of the} Artisan Gentleman,
 he waits to be amused when definite education is
^{imposed} not forced upon him, it seems safe to infer that the process
idea of education is not satisfactory.

hence of the Parents' Union, for which I stand, believe that
 education is, like the Kingdom of Heaven, a state and
 a process. For what is the ideal result of education,
 that result which we fail to get with all the
 labours of our schools? Not not-ambition for

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insatiable
worthy knowledge can ~~satiate~~ ^{insatiable} appetite
for ideas? The tedious process we go through,
occupying a quarter of a long life is supposed
to result in this ~~appetite~~ ^{appetency} for knowledge
quelled. But does it? We do not seem to
produce multitudes of reading people ^{who} capable
of clear thought. Our grand find is that there
^{in think clear, feel deep, hear just well,}

There is no need to produce these aptitudes by means
of education. They are there already, present in
child & man, in young & old. We are all
born with a desire for knowledge as keen & as
insistent as the appetite for food. Knowledge
~~is in touch with~~ ^{are often} Hegel's ideas.

Realising that we give people what they want
we skip all manner of elements & abstract-
ions & plunge at once into ~~mediation~~ ^{mediation}.
We educate by means of ^{mediation} immediate
contact with the best minds. Thoughts

best books. It will be objected that the
~~the~~ class we are particularly concerned
 with have no vocabulary, but that is a
 mistake. Working men expect themselves in
 'journalism' because they pick up the vocabulary
 of their newspaper; now the best writers use
 the plainest, most direct, English ~~that they can~~
 the fittest for educational purposes. But

There is no way of ~~working~~ ^{working} men + they will pick up, not ~~journalism~~ ^{journalism} but good English.

It would be if in each of the Constitutional Clubs, we may ^{amuse} ~~amuse~~ ourselves by conceiving, ^{arranging} ~~arranging~~ quite a number of deal tables with benches round them, each table occupied by a group of men & women (or of men only) reading & discussing incidentally some book they have chosen as, for example, Plutarch, Julius Caesar & Shakespeare's play, or Macaulay's Essay on China or Woman's Suffrage or Huxley's Social Evolution, or Professor

Dele's Expansion of Empire or Lecky

map of life, or The Old & New Ch. T.

to, might not, as the young, first, have
thought it right to do, labor it. Sp. & Mill,
both of them, and so on. But when these
~~several of these~~ handbooks
are read, their need, thoughts, should
not fall upon ^{unoccupied} ~~labor~~ from work, but
should have that struggle for life with
much besides which is the
combination of intellectual as well
as of physical development. The rampant
idea that is its owners' sole intellectual
property, this is a spiritual discovery to be
slated in the journal of the association
which has made the field its own.

Stilley's Steps of Life or Archdeacon Wilson's

Science & the Faith or Adam Sedgwick on

Nicholas Mickelby or Wallace's Russia.

or and ^{how} ~~suppose~~ when any table has finished
its book, the whole club ^{should} give half-an-hour
to listening to a résumé of comments by some
two or three of the readers, or to an attempt
to act a scene from ~~Shakespeare~~ a play that has
been read, or from a Waverley Novel. We should
find a new approach to the subject, and some
we shall have secured these things
these things would be secured, the joy of
an intellectual ^{life} stimulus, definite thought,
& the joy of expression. (Penguin) seems
But it would be objected all this is
extremely rapid & does not further the objects
of the Association.

If we take it that education is a state, we
may begin anywhere & can submit full

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"It has been well said that it is by reading the thoughts of others we learn to think."

ilp22pneu51

during in a week. Of course there are disciplinary studies which must be pursued by regular methods but these do not belong to our purpose. The reading of a single living book puts a man into the educated state. He becomes able to detect fallacies, see both sides of a question ^{smile} & laugh at vulgar superstitions. In the reading of a single first-rate book, he emerges from the darkness of ignorance into the light of knowledge. Perhaps it would be well to put General Culture in the foreground & the immediate objects of the Association in the second place. The Club should have newspapers, of course, representing both parties political parties, with now & then public debates; occasional lectures, with discussions, on the rights & duties of a citizen, on the training up of children, on domestic & on social economy. The pamphlets of the Association

would be read & discussed. But the aim of the Society would rather be, I imagine, to give men the opportunity to form some, wise & deliberate opinions & principles of right action & what is most important, of right thinking.

If such a plunge into the humanities and has suggested be good for poor men & women, it is also good for their children who are starved miserably during their school life on 'readers' & oral lessons. It is possible to make the poor man's child a person of reading & reflection by the time he is seven, by the time he is twelve, he should have had a thought & good deal. But it is new to talk to men because education is a state which you may enter at any ~~port~~ port - by any route. Men must have knowledge if they are to be fully alive. It remains true that the proper knowledge for mankind is man & that the best address for this

knowledge and through history, literature &
 art. We should have the field ~~for~~ ourselves
 if we were alone in the discovery that men crave
 for ideas can always ~~reach~~ ^{but} farther. The
~~atheist~~ anarchist, the atheist, the extreme
 faddist are before us. They too know that men
 are going about apace for notions, & their success
 is due to the fact that, after listening to their
 specious arguments, a man's mind ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{ris}es
 for the first time, perhaps, with the proud
^{assertion} conviction 'I have thought'. Men must think
 their thoughts grow out of the material they
 set before them. The great opportunity of such an
 Association as this is to put within a man's
 reach material of the best to give him opportunities
 for discussion & expression. In which

instruction may come in also, as has
indicated, but it should take the second place,
the main point is that man should use his mind

as a tool working upon food material.

Let me strengthen my position by quoting some
words of Benjamin Kidd's.

We must cultivate the affirmative &
not the negative mind - upon a

positive & not a negative programme

to do this, there seems no way

but to educate - educate - educate

prepare minds able to detect fallacies

& discriminate between truth & error

A single great rate book will

put a man with no way to

his power, quite a short course of

such study will make him

и рѣбренѣ

и рѣшениѣ

Reason / Purpose

15/10/1912

Reason
The time was spent in
the

For these reasons the Platonic idea of a
life-long education should, I think, be embraced,
methodised & organised, by an association
which aims at upholding the principles
of personal liberty & personal responsibility.

2
State children, i.e., "the children who for one
reason or another are without parental
control"

I am much concerned by the
to address a group of people, it seems
to me have very important issues.
Opinion is the first mandate of
the A.C.P. - it is only through a
competent organization that a sound
& solid body of public opinion can
be formed.

That if opinion is the first, educate
must be the ^{second} mandate, is I think
evidenced by the fact that I am asked
to speak; for like the man in the
gale, ^{who saw} there is nothing like leather for
propping a city, I say, education is
the thing for the Constitution: even so,
you will say, there are many more
eminent educationists - undoubtedly
but perhaps, in the name of
P. W. I may have something to offer
after all. We have found out that
education is, like the business of living,